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BOSTON'S SOUTH END

PAST AND PRESENT

Draft copy

Prepared by

Frederick Pikielek
Research Department
Boston Redevelopment Authority
February, 1974

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Historical Background

Like Back Bay, most of the South End rests on filled land. Only a thin strip of land originally connected the Boston peninsula with Roxbury. The narrowest point occurred at Dover and Washington Streets (the Boston Neck) and here fortifications were erected during the Revolutionary War. As the City grew several plans were made for filling in the area north of Washington Street and developing it for residential use.

Charles Bullfinch, credited with the first attempt, planned an area with two squares. Although his venture proved unsuccessful, Franklin and Blackstone Parks remain as reminders of his original plan.

In 1849 the City of Boston commissioned Chesbrough and Parrott, Engineers to plan the area. They based their design on the then prevalent English scale with streets so arranged that houses overlooked parks and squares reminiscent of those in Bath and London. The largest of these, Chester Square, Worcester Square and Union Park were soon surrounded by brick bowfront houses ornamented on the outside

with iron grillework and carved woodwork, marble fireplaces and high ceilings with elaborate moldings on the inside.

For a time, it seemed as though the area would become a fashionable place to live but three factors mitigated against this and it finally developed on a more modest scale. In 1856, the first horse carriage line was extended out to Roxbury and Dorchester, opening those areas for suburban development. The filling of the Back Bay with houses built on a more lavish scale also attracted many away from the South End. The third and perhaps, most important factor in the South End's decline was the panic of 1873 and real estate speculation on Columbus Ave. near Massachusetts Ave.

"The immediate occasion for the change seems to have been the real estate situation of Columbus Avenue. The street was built up (in 1870) with a somewhat cheaper style of house.....which were built on mortgages and after the panic of '73 had broken over the City, most of them were in possession of banks. The banks sold them for what they would bring, and the result was an acute drop in value of Columbus Avenue real estate....The shock this felt on Columbus Avenue with such force, gradually had the effect of disturbing the equilibrium of the rest of the South End."*

* Albert B. Wolfe, The Lodging House Problem in Boston, Cambridge, 1906.

Note: It is perhaps ironic that Columbus Ave. near Mass. Ave which in 1873 was the South End's undoing, in 1973, lags behind the rest of the area, in terms of rehabilitation of housing.

The South End gradually slipped into an absentee-owner, lodging-house area that became the entryway for immigrant groups entering the City.

Blacks settled early in the area between Columbus Avenue, Massachusetts Avenue and the Penn Central Tracks. Harriet Tubman lived here in the nineteenth century; and Malcolm X, for a time, lived on Wellington Street. Irish, Italians, Greeks, Syrians and Lebanese all came and found homes in the South End. Recently, there have been influxes of Chinese and Spanish and today the South End probably has more nationality groups than any other neighborhood in the City. By the late 1950s, the South End also became home to the skid-row alcoholic and the transient of the City. These social factors, plus a badly deteriorating housing stock led many to believe that the South End, as an area, could only be salvaged by levelling it and rebuilding.

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In 1962, the South End was described as "one of Boston's most difficult areas for urban renewal... confined within a relatively small 570 acres (it) contains the City's most serious problems of decay and blight." It was to correct these problems that the Boston City Council in 1965 approved an urban renewal plan for the area (627 acres) that was the culmination of hundreds of meetings between the Boston Redevelopment Authority and neighborhood groups.

Today, some nine years later, the South End urban renewal plan is still not complete. Although several hundred units of low-moderate income housing has been provided, the schools planned for the area have not been constructed and sewer and street work is still underway.

This report provides background data on the general population characteristics of the area 1960-1970, as well as housing goals and attainment and property assessments.

I. Population Characteristics

The South End, like the City of Boston, has been losing population the last twenty years, although at a much greater rate than the City (Table I). From

Table I

1950 - 1960 - 1970 POPULATION BY PLANNING DISTRICTS IN THE CITY OF BOSTON

	1950 Population	Absolute Change 1950-60	% Change	1960 Population	Absolute Change 1960-70	% Change	1970 Population
ston	51,152	- 7,343	-14.3	43,809	-4,936	-11.3	38,873
town	31,332	-11,185	-35.7	20,147	-4,794	-23.8	15,353
oston	55,670	-11,711	-21.0	43,959	-5,471	-12.4	38,488
	38,381	-17,700	-46.1	20,681	-1,337	- 6.5	19,334
y/ n Hill	28,150	- 3,211	-11.4	24,939	+2,599	+10.4	27,538
nd	57,218	-22,216	-38.8	35,002	-12,322	-35.2	22,680
re	36,649	- 3,686	-10.1	32,963	+ 3	-	32,965
/							
ton	67,102	- 2,895	- 4.3	64,207	- 550	- .8	63,657
/							
r Hill	58,015	- 4,447	- 7.7	53,568	-5,801	-10.8	47,767
ton							
Model							
s	121,828	-28,051	-23.0	93,777	-22,682	-24.2	71,095
ngton/							
	32,762	- 6,555	-20.0	26,207	-6,126	-23.4	20,081
s High	8,972	- 4,279	-47.7	4,693	-2,944	-62.7	1,749
Cities	80,094	-17,217	-21.5	62,877	-13,612	-21.6	49,265
ter	162,090	- 6,254	- 3.8	155,836	-3,307	- 2.1	152,529
ester 1	34,468	+ 388	+ 1.1	34,856	-2,191	- 6.3	32,665
ester 2	83,102	- 6,412	- 7.7	76,690	-2,275	- 3.0	74,415
pan	44,520	- 230	- .5	44,290	+1,159	+ 2.6	45,449
ale	37,036	+ 1,789	+ 4.8	38,825	+ 733	+ 1.9	39,558
xbury	25,660	+ 2,438	+ 9.5	28,098	+6,891	+24.5	34,989
rk	29,017	+ 3,978	+13.7	32,995	+1,982	+ 6.0	34,977
g							
ict							
s	799,300	-110,494	-13.8	688,806	-49,003	- 7.1	639,803
Islands	.2,144			1,812			1,241
f Vessels				7,463*			27
tal	801,444	-103,363	-12.9	698,081	-57,010	- 8.1	641,071

Members.

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1950 and 1960 Censuses of Population and Housing; 1970 Census of Population and Housing First Count Summary Tape; Tabulation Prepared by Mary Tompkins, B.R.A., Research Department.

1960 SOUTH END CENSUS TRACTS

I 1-4, J1-2, L 1-6,
R 1,3, Q 2



1970 SOUTH END CENSUS TRACTS

703-712, 804-806



1950-1960, the South End population declined from 57,218 to 35,002, a 38.8% loss, while the City of Boston declined only 13.8%. From 1960 to 1970, the South End population continued to drop from 35,002 to 22,680, a 35% loss as compared to a 7% loss for the City. It is interesting to note that the greatest population loss occurred in the 1950-1960 period before urban renewal.

For years, the South End has been characterized as a rooming-house area with a predominantly male, elderly, single population without family attachments. Comparison of 1960-1970 Census data shows this has changed somewhat. In 1960, the South End, with ^{35,002} 350,000 population, had 2,500 more men than women and was 53.5% male and 46.4% female. In 1970, there were only 807 more men than women and the population was 51.8% male and 48.2% female. This is still contrary to most urban areas throughout the United States where the opposite is usually the case, as well as the City of Boston which, in 1970, was 53.9% female and 46.05% male. The South End, in 1970, was the only planning district, except for the Central area, with more men than women (Table II).

20,303	1,542	1,595	1,660	1,648	1,744	2,183	2,255	2,714	1,320	1,013	1,569	1,060
Charlestown	7,882	576	698	787	732	597	833	879	419	452	687	416
South Boston	20,665	1,523	1,657	1,776	1,708	1,539	1,969	2,463	1,308	1,194	2,046	1,575
Central	9,498	400	373	424	655	1,436	956	1,230	631	545	837	602
Back Bay-Beacon Hill	16,182	255	165	106	2,575	5,259	887	960	570	748	1,225	874
South End	10,928	784	733	694	873	1,092	1,182	1,258	556	597	1,029	647
Fenway-Kenmore	19,573	281	151	124	5,385	6,828	695	855	573	733	1,345	1,017
Allston-Brighton	35,200	1,628	1,590	1,603	2,552	7,509	2,532	3,054	1,874	2,059	3,914	2,443
Jamaica Plain-Parker Hill	25,727	1,807	2,028	1,830	2,162	2,895	2,257	2,579	1,368	1,424	2,525	1,864
Washington Park-Model City	39,019	4,185	4,229	3,812	3,242	3,614	4,156	3,666	1,498	1,270	2,194	1,812
Washington Park	11,231	1,158	1,219	1,013	891	1,075	1,279	1,006	416	327	675	515
Campus High	956	70	113	85	61	64	90	105	51	46	92	69
Model City	26,832	2,957	2,897	2,714	2,290	2,475	2,787	2,555	1,031	897	1,427	1,228
Dorchester	82,486	7,565	7,783	7,395	6,773	6,943	7,888	8,507	4,302	4,159	7,071	4,578
Dorchester 1	17,490	1,607	1,709	1,694	1,539	1,438	1,683	1,848	824	792	1,416	1,022
Dorchester 2	40,368	3,551	3,642	3,548	3,357	3,258	3,962	4,160	2,201	2,214	3,673	2,406
Mattapan	24,608	2,407	2,432	2,153	1,877	2,247	2,243	2,499	1,277	1,153	1,922	1,150
Roslindale	21,223	1,486	1,592	1,772	1,615	1,625	2,064	2,455	1,321	1,245	2,230	1,584
West Roxbury	18,724	1,183	1,318	1,437	1,353	1,332	1,839	2,318	1,359	1,297	2,126	1,336
Hyde Park	18,182	1,326	1,538	1,710	1,500	1,481	1,960	2,438	1,125	958	1,301	927
Planning District Totals	345,592	24,541	25,450	25,130	32,773	43,894	31,473	35,376	18,224	17,694	30,099	20,735
Harbor Islands	156	1	6	2	7	3	5	11	8	12	35	46
Crews of Vessels	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
City Totals	345,757	24,542	25,456	25,132	32,780	43,897	31,493	35,396	18,232	17,706	30,134	20,781

South End

10,928 Female (48.2%)
11,735 Male (51.8%)

The South End, except for Central is the only planning district with more men than women.

City

345,757 Female (53.95%)
295,165 Male (46.05%)

While in 1960, roughly 50 percent of the total population had no specific marital or family ties in the area (indicative of a lodging house community), in 1970, 60.6 percent of the total South End population was part of a family unit. Again, the South End improved considerably but still ranked below almost all planning districts. Only Back Bay-^{29.4}Beacon Hill and Fenway-Kenmore^{22.1} had a smaller percentage of families (Table III).

However, there is not even distribution in the area. Census tracts with large family projects are family/child dominated. The projects in tracts 804 (Orchard Park) and 806 (Whittier Street) are not in the South End, although they are included statistically in the South End. The skew these projects impart to South End statistics can therefore be misleading. Two other census tracts, 704 (Castle Square) and 712 (Cathedral) contain family projects. Thus, tracts with large family projects heavily influencing census data are 804, 805, 806, 704 and 712.

Age composition in the South End has also changed in the last ten years. In 1960, 43.6% of the area's population

TABLE III

PERCENT COMPOSITION OF 1970 TOTAL POPULATION
(FAMILY-UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS)
WITHIN PLANNING DISTRICTS

	<u>Family</u>	<u>Unrelated Individuals</u>
1	100.0	100.0
ast Boston	91.0	9.0
harlestown	87.0	13.0
o. Boston	84.9	15.1
entral	64.1	35.9
ack Bay-Beacon Hill	29.4	70.6
outh End	60.6	39.4
enway-Kenmore	22.1	77.9
Jamaica Plain- Parker Hill	77.5	22.5
Washington Park- Model Cities	85.5	14.5
North Dorchester	89.6	10.4
Dorchester	90.6	9.4
Mattapan	90.5	9.5
Roslindale	88.6	11.4
West Roxbury	91.4	8.6
Hyde Park	93.1	6.9

was over 45 while, in 1970, the figure dropped to 37.7%, a net change of -5.9%. This compares to City of Boston figures of 35.3% over 45 in 1960 and 32.7%. Again the South End is approaching the City average.

South End age groups 5-19 increased 3.1% from 1960-1970, while the 20-34 age group increased from 19% to 24%. This is almost equal to the City average of 24.4%. In general, these trends show a shift in South End age composition from older middle-aged and elderly to young couples or young singles (Table IV).

With the exception of tract 705, tracts 703-712 have very large proportions of age 25-34. Tracts 703, 710 and 711 have large proportions of age 20-24. Tract 705, as of 1970, appears balanced within broad age groups, but since in 1960, it was unbalanced in favor of age 45+, this would indicate trends similar to other non-project tracts.

The South End has always traditionally been an inter-racial community and this is no less true today, even though racial composition is rapidly changing. In 1960, the South End was 41.7% nonwhite, contained 5.1% of the City's population and 21.5% of the nonwhite population of Boston. By 1970, the area's nonwhite population had increased to 52.7%,

TOTAL POPULATION FOR SOUTH END, BY AGE GROUPS
(In Percentages)

	<u>Under 5</u>	<u>5-9</u>	<u>10-14</u>	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-34</u>	<u>35-44</u>	<u>45-54</u>	<u>55-59</u>	<u>60-64</u>	<u>65-74</u>	<u>75 & Over</u>
Total												
1960	7.5	6.1	5.2	5.5	6.7	12.3	13.1	13.8	7.0	6.7	11.0	5.1
1970	7.1	6.8	6.1	7.0	9.4	14.6	11.3	12.1	5.2	5.7	9.2	5.5
Change	-.4	+.7	+.9	+1.5	+2.7	+2.3	-1.8	-1.7	-1.8	-1.0	-1.8	+.4

CITY OF BOSTON TOTAL POPULATION, BY AGE GROUPS
(In Percentages)

	<u>Under 5</u>	<u>5-9</u>	<u>10-14</u>	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-34</u>	<u>35-44</u>	<u>45-54</u>	<u>55-59</u>	<u>60-64</u>	<u>65-74</u>	<u>75 & Over</u>
1960	9.5	7.9	7.3	7.4	7.8	12.7	12.1	12.0	5.7	5.3	8.2	4.1
1970	7.8	8.1	8.0	9.5	12.0	12.4	9.5	10.2	5.0	4.8	7.7	5.0
Change	-1.7	+.2	+.7	+2.1	+4.2	-.3	-2.6	-1.8	-.7	-.5	-.5	+.9

Note: In 1960, 43.6% of the South End's population was over 65 while only 35.3% of the City of Boston's population was over 65.

In 1970, 37.7% of the South End's population was over 65 while 32.7% of the City of Boston's population was over 65.

Source: 1960, 1970 Census of Population and Housing.

with the South End containing 3.5% of total City population but only 10.3% of the total nonwhite population of the City (Tables V and VI).

Comparison of 1960-1970 census data shows that in 1960, the racial composition of the South End was classified as 58.7% white, 38.8% Negro and 2.5% other (this category includes Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Hawaiian, and Korean). In 1970, this decreased to 47.0% white, 38.7% Negro and increased to 14.3% other. Proportionately, far more whites left the South End from 1960-1970 than Negroes, while there were large influxes of Chinese in the same period. The South End now contains 32.9% of the Oriental population of the City, by far the largest percentage of any planning district (See Table VII).

There were also large influxes of Puerto Ricans into the South End. 1960 Census data for the South End reported some 500 Puerto Ricans there, while the 1970 Census reported some 1,296 persons of Puerto Rican birth or parentage. These 1,296 comprised 5.7% of the South End's population or 17.7% of all persons of Puerto Rican birth or parentage in the City (Table VIII and IX).

PERCENT COMPOSITION OF THE TOTAL POPULATION BY PLANNING DISTRICTS
FOR YEARS 1950-1960-1970

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TABLE V

Planning Districts	Total Population	White Population		Non-white Population	
		1950	1960	1950	1970
East Boston	100.0	99.9	99.8	98.9	98.9
Charlestown	100.0	98.7	99.4	98.6	98.6
South Boston	100.0	99.9	99.7	98.3	98.3
Central	100.0	95.4	90.1	90.9	90.9
Back Bay-Beacon Hill	100.0	98.7	97.8	96.1	96.1
South End	100.0	67.7	58.3	47.3	47.3
Fenway-Kenmore	100.0	96.9	90.9	90.9	90.9
Allston-Brighton	100.0	99.4	99.1	95.8	95.8
Jamaica Plain-Parker Hill	100.0	99.1	95.0	84.0	84.0
Washington Park-Model City	100.0	84.6	55.8	23.9	23.9
Washington Park	100.0	73.1	31.4	7.5	7.5
Campus High	100.0	42.7	34.7	17.4	17.4
Model City	100.0	94.0	67.6	30.8	30.8
Dorchester	100.0	99.8	98.8	79.6	79.6
Dorchester 1	100.0	99.8	96.9	87.0	87.0
Dorchester 2	100.0	99.8	99.5	89.6	89.6
Mattapan	100.0	99.6	98.9	58.0	58.0
Roslindale	100.0	99.6	99.0	97.4	97.4
West Roxbury	100.0	99.1	99.8	99.3	99.3
Hyde Park	100.0	99.8	99.7	99.3	99.3
Planning District Totals	100.0	94.7	90.2	81.9	81.9
Harbor Islands	100.0	94.6	89.1	79.0	79.0
Crews of Vessals	100.0	100.0	91.7	100.0	100.0
City Totals	100.0	94.7	90.2	81.9	81.9

TABLE VI
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE TOTAL POPULATION BY PLANNING DISTRICTS
FOR YEARS 1950-1960-1970

Planning Districts	Total Population			White Population			Non-white Population		
	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970
East Boston	6.4	6.4	6.1	6.8	7.1	7.3	.2	.1	.4
Charlestown	3.9	2.9	2.4	4.1	3.2	2.9	1.0	.2	.2
South Boston	7.0	6.4	6.0	7.3	7.1	7.2	.1	.2	.6
Central	4.8	3.0	3.0	4.8	3.0	3.4	4.2	3.0	1.5
Back Bay - Beacon Hill	3.5	3.6	4.3	3.7	3.9	5.1	.9	.8	.9
South End	7.2	5.1	3.5	5.1	3.3	2.0	43.4	21.5	10.3
Kenway - Kenmore	4.6	4.8	5.2	4.7	4.8	5.7	2.6	4.4	2.6
Allston - Brighton	8.4	9.3	9.9	8.8	10.2	11.7	.9	.9	2.3
Jamaica Plain - Parker Hill	7.3	7.8	7.5	7.6	8.2	7.7	1.3	4.0	6.6
Washington Park - Model City	15.2	13.6	11.0	13.6	8.4	3.3	44.1	61.2	46.5
Washington Park	4.1	3.8	3.1	3.2	1.3	.3	20.7	26.6	16.0
Campus High	1.1	.7	.2	.5	.3	.1	12.1	4.5	1.2
Model City	10.0	9.1	7.7	9.9	6.8	2.9	11.3	30.1	29.3
Dorchester	20.3	22.6	23.8	21.4	24.8	23.1	.9	2.8	26.8
Dorchester 1	4.3	5.1	5.1	4.5	5.4	5.4	.2	1.6	3.7
Dorchester 2	10.4	11.1	11.6	11.0	12.3	12.7	.3	.5	6.7
Mattapan	5.6	6.4	7.1	5.9	7.1	5.0	.4	.7	16.4
Roslindale	4.6	5.6	6.2	4.9	6.2	7.4	.3	.6	.9
West Roxbury	3.2	4.1	5.6	3.4	4.5	6.6	-	.1	.2
Hyde Park	3.6	4.8	5.5	3.8	5.3	6.6	.1	.2	.2
Planning District Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: 1950 and 1960 Censuses of Population and Housing; 1970 Census of Population and Housing, First Count Summary Tape; Tabulation prepared by Mary Tompkins, BRA Research Department

TABLE VII

<u>Planning Districts</u>	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>American Indian</u>	<u>Other Specified Races</u>	<u>Reported Other Races</u>
East Boston	6.1	7.3	.3	2.1	.6	2.0
Charlestown	2.4	2.9	-	2.9	1.3	.2
South Boston	6.0	7.2	.4	4.8	1.8	3.8
Central	3.0	3.4	.3	1.2	17.0	1.8
Back Bay-Beacon Hill	4.3	5.1	.6	2.8	3.7	5.0
South End	3.5	2.0	8.6	5.3	32.9	6.9
Fenway-Kenmore	5.1	5.7	1.9	7.0	8.4	8.9
Allston-Brighton	9.9	11.6	1.1	6.0	15.3	6.4
Jamaica Plain-Parker Hill	7.4	7.7	6.6	7.2	5.3	10.1
Washington Park-Model City	11.1	3.3	50.7	26.4	2.3	25.4
Washington Park	3.1	.3	17.5	8.1	.7	5.0
Campus High	.3	.1	1.3	1.1	-	.4
Model City	7.7	2.9	31.9	17.2	1.6	20.0
Dorchester	23.8	23.1	28.4	29.8	6.5	25.5
Dorchester 1	5.1	5.4	3.7	10.8	1.2	8.4
Dorchester 2	11.6	12.7	6.9	11.2	2.9	7.5
Mattapan	7.1	5.0	17.8	7.8	2.4	9.6
Roslindale	6.2	7.3	.7	2.4	2.4	2.4
West Roxbury	5.5	6.6	.1	.8	1.4	.9
Hyde Park	5.5	6.6	.1	1.0	1.1	.7
Planning District Total	99.8	99.8	99.8	99.7	100.0	100.0
Harbor Islands	.2	.2	.2	.3	-	-
Crews of Vessels	-	-	-	-	-	-
City Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE VIII

1970 NUMBER OF PERSONS OF SPANISH DESCENT, PERSONS OF PUERTO RICAN BIRTH OR PARENTAGE AND NUMBER OF PERSONS OF SPANISH LANGUAGE

<u>Planning Districts</u>	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>Persons of Spanish Descent*</u>	<u>Persons of P.R. Birth Or Parentage**</u>	<u>Persons of Spanish Language**</u>
East Boston	38,873	486	66	617
Charlestown	15,353	430	-	46
South Boston	38,488	329	193	276
Central	17,217	668	46	324
Back Bay-Beacon Hill	29,146	271	81	333
<u>South End</u>	<u>22,775</u>	<u>1,264</u>	<u>1,296</u>	<u>1,641</u>
Fenway-Kenmore	34,439	638	266	1,055
Allston-Brighton	63,657	1,335	27	1,832
Jamaica Plain-Parker Hill	46,774	2,598	917	3,015
Washington Park-Model City	71,274	4,805	2,691	4,622
Washington Park	20,504	1,030	295	648
Campus High	2,173	15	38	55
Model City	48,597	3,760	2,358	3,919
Dorchester	152,283	3,731	1,632	3,561
Dorchester 1	33,052	1,702	872	1,318
Dorchester 2	74,138	920	326	977
Mattapan	45,093	1,109	434	1,266
Roslindale	39,411	178	58	368
West Roxbury	33,945	54	-	58
Hyde Park	36,168	202	18	192
Planning District Total	639,803	16,989	7,291	17,940
Harbor Islands	1,241	-	15	31
Crews of Vessels	27	-	-	-
City Total	641,071	16,989	7,306	17,971

* 5% Sample

** 15% Sample

Source: 1970 Census of Population and Housing, Fourth Count Summary Tape. Tabulation prepared by M. Tompkins, BRA Research Department.

TABLE IX

CENT DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS OF SPANISH DESCENT, PERSONS OF PUERTO RICAN BIRTH OR PARENTAGE AND PERSONS OF SPANISH LANGUAGE

<u>Planning Districts</u>	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>Persons of Spanish Descent*</u>	<u>Persons of P.R. Birth Or Parentage**</u>	<u>Persons of Spanish Language*</u>
North Boston	6.1	2.9	.9	3.4
Charlestown	2.4	2.5	-	.3
South Boston	6.0	1.9	2.7	1.5
Central	3.0	3.9	.6	1.8
North Bay-Beacon Hill	4.3	1.6	1.1	1.9
North End	3.5	7.4	17.7	9.1
Way-Kenmore	5.1	3.8	3.6	5.9
Easton-Brighton	9.9	7.9	.4	10.2
Rainbow Plain-Parker Hill	7.4	15.3	12.6	16.8
Washington Park-Model City	11.1	28.3	36.8	25.7
Washington Park	3.1	6.1	4.0	3.6
Campus High	.3	.1	.5	.3
Model City	7.7	22.1	32.3	21.8
Dorchester	23.8	22.0	22.3	19.8
Dorchester 1	5.1	10.1	11.9	7.3
Dorchester 2	11.6	5.4	4.5	5.4
Mattapan	7.1	6.5	5.9	7.0
Glendale	6.2	1.0	.8	2.1
East Roxbury	5.5	.3	-	.3
De Park	5.5	1.2	.3	1.0
Planning District Total	99.8	100.0	99.8	99.8
Harbor Islands	.2	-	.2	.2
Crews of Vessels	-	-	-	-
City Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* 5% Sample

** 15% Sample

Source: 1970 Census of Population and Housing, Fourth Count Summary Tape. Tabulation prepared by M. Tompkins, BRA Research Department.

While the South End as a whole appears racially mixed, analysis by census tract reveals another picture. In 1960, five of the South End's 13 census tracts were predominantly Negro, while the number of predominantly Negro tracts increased to seven in 1970. Tracts 705 and 706 registered decreases for the same period, while the Massachusetts Avenue, Lower Roxbury tracts 709, 710, 804 and 806 all registered fairly substantial increases (Table X).

The Northeast section of the South End, tracts 703, 704, Block Group 1 of 705 and Block Group 2 of 712 and tract 706 showed significant increases in proportions of other races. The closeness of these areas to Boston's traditional Chinatown made them desirable to Chinese immigration as evidenced by changes in the 60-70 population. Tract 704 increased from 16.0% other races in 1960 to 34.6% in 1970. Tract 703 increased from .9% other races to 9.2% while tract 706 increased from 3.7% to 21.5%.

Tracts 705, 706, and 712 (Cathedral) also contain the only proportions of Spanish speaking over 10 percent. (Tract 705 is the site of Parcel 19 being developed by the Emergency Tenant Council, a Puerto Rican-based organization.)

SOUTH END TOTAL POPULATION, BY RACE, BY CENSUS TRACT
1960-1970

Race	703	704	705	706	707	708	709	710	711	712	804	805	806	Total
<u>1960</u>														
All persons	2,533	2,263	6,869	3,262	2,114	3,728	2,861	2,226	1,188	2,928	685	2,952	739	34,348
White	2,418	1,727	5,852	2,461	823	296	780	2,090	1,113	1,842	529	127	120	20,178
Negro	91	363	793	679	1,250	3,346	2,034	82	54	1,062	144	2,802	612	13,312
Other (including Oriental)	24	173	224	122	41	86	47	54	21	24	12	23	7	858
<u>1970</u>														
All persons	1,929	1,842	5,051	2,545	916	2,305	2,120	1,369	725	2,247	413	1,070	540	23,072
White	1,652	664	3,196	1,615	309	310	407	999	580	1,026	19	42	38	10,857
Negro	100	541	362	384	599	1,930	1,653	257	102	1,091	382	1,016	502	8,919
Other (including Oriental)	177	637	1,493	546	8	65	60	113	43	130	12	12	0	3,296

PERCENT COMPOSITION OF SOUTH END TOTAL POPULATION, BY RACE, BY CENSUS TRACT
1960-1970

	703	704	705	706	707	708	709	710	711	712	804	805	806	Total
<u>1960</u>														
All Persons	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White	95.5	76.3	85.2	75.4	38.9	7.9	27.3	93.9	93.7	62.9	77.2	4.3	16.2	58.7
Negro	3.6	16.0	11.5	20.8	59.1	89.8	71.1	3.7	4.5	36.3	21.0	94.9	82.9	38.8
Other (including Oriental)	.9	7.7	3.3	3.7	2.0	2.3	1.6	2.4	1.8	.8	1.8	.8	.9	2.5
<u>1970</u>														
All Persons	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White	85.6	36.0	63.3	63.4	33.7	13.5	19.2	73.0	80.0	45.7	4.6	3.9	7.0	47.0
Negro	5.2	29.4	7.2	15.1	65.4	83.7	77.8	18.8	14.1	48.6	92.5	95.0	93.0	38.7
Other (including Oriental)	9.2	34.6	29.6	21.5	.8	2.8	2.8	8.2	5.9	5.7	2.9	1.1	.0	14.3

The percentage of white population decreased 11.7% in the South End from 1960 to 1970, decreased .1% for Negroes, and increased 11.8% for others. This includes Orientals.

Data on educational attainment for South End population shows that 18 percent of the population in the South End have completed some college, twice that of East Boston, Charlestown and South Boston, and close to a City of Boston average of 19.2%. While the South End has only 3.5% of the total City population, it has 5.1% of the people in Boston who have completed college, again significantly higher than East Boston's, Charlestown's and South Boston's share (Tables XI, XII).

Income Characteristics

Over the last ten years in the South End there has been a fairly drastic change in the composition of the labor force. What was primarily a blue-collar, general labor work force is giving way to a professional, technical, managerial, sales and clerical work force. The number of people in the professional, technical, managerial field increased by a modest 245, but there was a huge drop in the blue collar worker fields. Operatives dropped from 3,175 to 1,637, a loss of 1,438 and labor decreased from 885 to 383 (Table XIII).

In 1970, 18.5% of the total employed South End population is in the professional, technical, managerial category, and again the South End is approaching the City average of 22.5%

TABLE XI

Planning District	Total	No School Years Completed	Some Elementary Years Completed	Some High School Completed	Some College Completed
East Boston	100.0	4.7	32.8	55.3	7.2
Charlestown	100.0	1.9	25.0	64.6	8.5
South Boston	100.0	2.6	28.1	60.3	9.0
Central	100.0	6.4	36.1	36.4	21.1
Dock Bay-Reacon Hill	100.0	.8	7.0	31.4	60.8
South End	100.0	3.0	36.1	42.9	18.0
Fenway-Kenmore	100.0	1.3	16.0	45.2	37.5
Allston-Brighton	100.0	2.1	17.9	50.4	29.6
Jamaica Plain-Parker Hill	100.0	2.0	24.9	50.8	22.3
Washington Park-Model City	100.0	2.4	30.3	56.6	10.7
Washington Park	100.0	1.6	24.6	60.6	13.2
Campus High	100.0	2.9	33.2	53.4	10.5
Model City	100.0	2.8	32.6	55.0	9.6
Dorchester	100.0	2.4	23.3	61.8	12.5
Dorchester 1	100.0	2.5	27.5	60.8	9.2
Dorchester 2	100.0	1.5	22.4	63.1	13.0
Mattapan	100.0	4.1	21.7	60.2	14.0
Roslindale	100.0	2.7	22.5	59.3	15.5
West Roxbury	100.0	2.0	14.2	55.7	28.1
Hyde Park	100.0	1.8	18.1	63.8	16.3
Planning District Totals	100.0	2.5	23.5	54.8	19.2
Harbor Islands	100.0	.7	58.0	34.3	7.0
Crews of Vessels	-	-	-	-	-
City Totals	100.0	2.5	23.6	54.7	19.2

TABLE XII

Planning Districts	Total Population 25 & over	No. School Years Completed	Elementary Level		High School Level		College Level	
			Total	1 - 7 Years	Total	1 - 3 Years	Total	1 - 3 Years
East Boston	6.4	12.0	8.9	9.5	8.1	5.3	2.4	3.4
Charlestown	2.4	1.8	2.5	2.3	2.7	2.5	1.1	1.2
South Boston	6.3	6.6	7.5	6.6	8.4	6.2	2.9	3.1
Central	3.3	8.3	5.0	6.7	3.0	1.9	3.6	2.9
Rock Bay-Beacon Hill	4.7	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.3	3.3	15.1	10.2
South End	4.1	4.9	6.3	7.4	5.1	2.8	3.9	3.5
Fenway-Kenmore	3.6	1.9	2.4	2.4	2.5	3.2	7.0	6.2
Allston-Dighton	10.1	8.6	7.6	7.2	8.2	10.1	15.6	13.9
Jamaica Plain-Parker Hill	7.4	5.8	7.8	7.6	8.0	6.5	8.6	7.8
Washington Park-Model City	9.9	9.7	12.8	14.6	10.5	9.3	5.5	7.6
Washington Park	2.8	1.9	3.0	3.3	2.6	3.1	2.0	2.9
College Hill	3.3	3.3	4.4	4.4	3.3	2.2	1.1	1.2
Model City	6.8	7.5	9.4	10.9	7.6	6.0	3.4	4.5
Dorchester	23.1	22.8	22.8	20.1	26.1	26.1	15.1	19.6
Dorchester 1	4.8	4.9	5.6	5.1	6.2	4.9	2.3	3.0
Dorchester 2	11.5	6.7	10.9	9.2	13.0	13.4	7.8	10.1
Mattapan	6.8	11.2	6.3	5.8	6.9	7.8	5.0	6.5
Roslindale	6.7	7.2	6.4	5.9	6.9	8.0	5.4	6.0
West Roxbury	6.0	4.8	3.6	3.3	4.0	7.3	8.8	8.7
Hyde Park	5.7	4.0	4.4	4.0	4.9	7.4	4.9	5.8
Planning District Total	99.7	99.9	99.4	99.1	99.7	99.9	99.9	99.9
Harbor Islands	.3	.1	.6	.9	.3	.1	.1	.1
Crews of Vessels	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
City Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

COMPOSITION OF SOUTH END EMPLOYED POPULATION
16 YEARS AND OVER IN THE CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE BY OCCUPATION
(1960 - 1970)

	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>
Professional, Technical, Managerial	1,515	1,760
Workers	354	325
Cal	1,530	1,735
smen and Foremen	1,243	703
tives (Includes Transport)	3,175	1,637
ers	885	383
ce Workers	3,583	2,825
te Household	510	146
Employed Over 16	12,795	9,515

PERCENT COMPOSITION OF SOUTH END EMPLOYED POPULATION
16 YEARS AND OVER IN THE CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE BY OCCUPATION

	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>Net Change</u>
Professional, Technical, Managerial	11.8	18.5	+6.7
Workers	2.7	3.4	+ .7
Cal	12.0	18.2	+6.2
smen and Foremen	9.7	7.4	-2.3
tives (Includes Transport)	24.8	17.3	-7.5
ers	6.9	4.0	-2.9
ce Workers	28.0	29.7	+1.7
te Household	3.9	1.5	-2.4
Employed Over 16	100.0	100.0	

Source: 1960-1970 Census of Population and Housing: Fourth Count Summary Tape;
Tabulation prepared by Mary Tompkins BRA Research Department.

1960 census data showed that the overwhelming preponderance of employed South End people earned their living as service workers, general factory workers and general labor.

1970 census data shows employment in the above categories has decreased with an increase in white collar workers. For comparison with Boston and other neighborhoods, see following page.

for those categories. This compares to a 1960 figure of 6.4% professional, technical, managerial for the South End and 11.6% for Boston.

Even though there has been an increase of people in the professional, managerial, technical occupations, earning power is still extremely low in the South End. Despite an increase in median income to \$6,122, up \$1,542 from the 1960 South End median income of \$4,542, the median income did not increase nearly as rapidly as the City's and the difference in median income from the City is now \$3,011.

However, as with all other South End census data, family income distribution has changed markedly from 1960-1970 (See Table XIV). In 1960, 43.7% of all families earned less than \$4,000, while in 1970 this figure is 30.4%, a decrease of 13.3%. In the same period, the figure for the City of Boston decreased from 24.3 percent to 16 percent, an 8.3 percent decrease. Obviously, families earning

YEAR	TOTAL	Under 1,000	1,000- 1,999	2,000- 2,999	3,000- 3,999	4,000- 6,999	7,000- 9,999	10,000- 14,999	15,000- 24,999	25,000 Or More
1960	100.0	7.2	10.7	12.7	13.1	31.8	15.8	5.0	2.4	.3
1970	100.0	4.7	5.4	9.7	10.6	28.6	15.6	16.4	7.5	1.5
change		-2.5	-5.3	-3.0	-2.5	-3.2	-.2	+11.4	+5.1	+1.2

In 1960 43.7% of all families in the South End earned less than \$4,000 while in 1970 this figure is 30.4%.

CITY OF BOSTON FAMILY INCOME DISTRIBUTION 1960 - 1970 (In Percentages)

1960	100.0	2.8	5.4	9.7	6.4	29.2	26.7	16.0	7.5	2.0
1970	100.0	2.8	2.7	4.9	5.6	18.5	21.7	16.4	14.8	3.3
change		0	-2.7	-4.8	-.8	-10.7	-5.0	+.4	+7.3	+1.3

In 1960 24.3% of all families in the City of Boston earned less than \$4,000 while in 1970 this figure is 16%.

The 1960 - 1970 net change for South End families earning less than \$4,000 is -13.3% while the 1960 - 1970 net change of the City of Boston is -8.3%.

less than \$4,000 either moved out of the South End or moved into other income brackets. Data does not support the latter, however, because there were decreases in all income brackets up to the \$10,000 median income category. This phenomena held true for the City of Boston, as well.

What appears in the South End is that there has been an influx of families in the \$10,000+ categories in the last ten years and at a rate greater than that for the City of Boston, as a whole. The change in the South End for people earning over \$10,000 has been a 17.7 percent increase, but with only a 9.0 percent increase for the City of Boston (Table XIV).

Again tract analysis shows some areas have undergone drastic increase in the \$10,000+ categories, while the tracts with housing projects showed little, if any improvement. These tracts (712,804,805,806) continued to have the highest percentage of families earning less than \$4,000 than did the South End and tended to skew the overall income distribution considerably lower (Table XVI).

TABLE XV

Tract	Year	Total Families With Income	Under \$1,000	\$1,000- 1,999	\$2,000- 2,999	\$3,000- 3,999	\$4,000- 6,999	\$7,000- 9,999	\$10,000- 14,999	\$15,000- 24,999	\$25,000 and Up
703	1960	350	12	21	60	58	123	42	27	7	0
	1970	273	9	11	10	11	37	41	84	48	22
704	1960	436	37	51	78	40	145	43	42	0	0
	1970	406	51	6	24	43	110	83	82	7	0
705	1960	1,216	84	232	97	164	387	190	51	4	0
	1970	827	34	24	71	73	233	175	142	69	6
706	1960	552	75	91	92	78	174	30	10	2	0
	1970	327	11	24	31	28	66	27	59	56	25
707	1960	413	22	68	64	54	157	22	19	7	0
	1970	138	-	3	4	18	56	22	21	14	0
708	1960	875	106	87	140	130	284	80	40	4	0
	1970	421	13	44	53	50	99	60	74	28	0
709	1960	552	57	44	111	72	158	97	9	4	0
	1970	332	-	23	14	48	160	36	32	14	0
710	1960	371	20	48	57	44	125	61	16	0	0
	1970	158	-	-	24	3	67	27	25	12	0
711	1960	209	10	13	24	36	97	19	10	0	0
	1970	66	5	6	-	10	6	11	15	13	0
712	1960	656	84	117	106	129	179	29	12	0	0
	1970	543	29	32	88	88	145	61	74	26	0
804	1960	163	15	23	34	22	54	12	2	1	0
	1970	95	2	10	14	17	30	15	6	0	1
805	1960	690	56	156	114	110	201	48	6	0	0
	1970	234	28	20	28	16	83	35	19	5	0
806	1960	165	19	33	40	24	38	99	2	0	0
	1970	132	6	9	22	13	41	2	13	3	2

1960 - 1970
(In percentages)

TRACT	YEAR	TOTAL	Under 1,000	1,000- 1,999	2,000- 2,999	3,000- 3,999	4,000- 6,999	7,000- 9,999	10,000- 14,999	15,000- 24,999	25,000 Or More
703	1960 1970	100	3.4 3.3	6.0 4.0	17.1 3.6	16.6 4.0	35.1 13.6	12.0 15.0	7.8 30.8	2.0 17.6	0 7.4
704	1960 1970		8.5 12.6	11.7 1.5	17.9 5.9	9.2 10.6	33.3 27.1	9.9 20.4	9.6 20.2	0 1.7	0 0
705	1960 1970		6.9 4.1	19.1 2.9	8.0 8.6	13.5 8.8	31.8 28.1	15.6 21.2	4.2 17.2	.3 8.3	0 .7
706	1960 1970		13.6 3.4	16.5 7.3	16.6 9.5	14.1 8.6	31.5 20.1	4.9 8.26	1.8 18.0	.4 17.1	0 7.7
707	1960 1970		5.3 0	16.5 2.2	15.6 2.9	13.0 5.5	38.0 40.6	5.3 15.9	4.6 15.2	1.6 2.9	0 0
708	1960 1970		12.1 3.1	9.9 7.8	16.0 12.6	14.9 11.9	32.5 23.5	9.1 14.3	4.6 17.6	.5 6.7	0 0
709	1960 1970		10.3 0	8.0 6.9	20.1 1.2	13.0 14.5	28.6 48.2	17.6 10.8	1.6 9.6	.7 1.2	0 0
710	1960 1970		5.4 -	12.9 -	15.4 15.2	11.9 1.9	33.7 42.4	16.4 17.1	4.3 15.8	0 7.6	0 0
711	1960 1970		4.8 7.6	6.2 9.1	11.5 -	17.2 15.1	47.0 9.1	9.1 16.7	4.8 22.7	0 19.7	0 0
712	1960 1970		12.8 5.3	17.8 5.9	16.2 16.2	19.7 16.2	27.3 26.7	4.4 11.2	1.8 13.6	0 4.8	0 0
804	1960 1970		9.2 2.1	14.1 10.5	20.1 14.7	13.5 17.9	33.1 31.6	7.4 15.8	1.2 6.3	.6 0	0 1.0
805	1960 1970		9.6 12.0	22.6 8.6	16.5 12.0	14.5 6.8	29.1 35.4	7.0 15.0	.9 8.1	0 2.1	0 0
806	1960 1970		11.5 4.5	20.0 6.8	24.2 16.7	14.6 9.8	23.0 31.7	5.5 16.6	1.2 9.8	0 2.3	0 1.5

Tract 712 (Cathedral)	43.6% total families earning less than \$40
" 804 (Orchard Park)	45.2% total families earning less than \$40
" 805 (Lenox-Camden)	39.4% total families earning less than \$40
" 806 (Whittier St.)	37.8% total families earning less than \$40

Areas that seemed most desirable to families in the \$10,000+ categories were tracts 703, 705 (as far West as Upton Street) 706, 708 (between Columbus Ave. and Tremont St.) and 711.

Median income for the South End by census tract also shows that with the exception of Castle Square median incomes are significantly lower for those tracts containing public housing. (Table XVII)

In 1960 the unemployment rate for the South End was 8.3% while the rate for the City was 4.8%. In 1970 this had dropped to 6.2% for the South End and 4.3% for Boston. The South End, from 1960 to 1970, came closer to the City average in unemployment, but still ranked fourth out of the City's neighborhoods. Only Columbia Point (10.0%), Roxbury-North Dorchester (6.5%), and the North End (6.4%) had higher rates of unemployment.

TABLE XVII

1970 INCOME IN SOUTH END BY CENSUS TRACT
 BASED ON 1970 U.S. CENSUS

CENSUS TRACT	I FAMILIES		II UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS		III FAMILIES AND INDIVIDUALS (I&II)	
	Mean	Median	Mean	Median		
Castle Square	703	\$10,791	\$12,039	\$3,904	\$4,775	\$4,715 \$6,172
	{ 704	6,295	6,461	2,273	2,671	4,417 5,177
	705	6,756	7,793	2,665	4,090	3,813 5,294
	706	7,318	10,520	2,921	3,843	3,524 5,134
	707	6,571	7,612	1,827	3,342	3,486 4,901
	708	5,824	6,846	3,368	3,488	3,950 4,383
	709	5,469	6,395	3,132	3,533	3,825 4,364
	710	6,664	7,752	1,682	2,571	2,040 3,480
	711	7,545	8,965	2,370	3,857	2,778 4,666
Cathedral	{ 712	4,500	5,713	1,891	2,232	3,221 4,243
Lower	{ Lenox	804	3,861	4,457	2,598	2,921 3,861 4,457
Boxbury		805	2,910	3,971	1,983	2,470 2,910 3,971
		806	4,144	4,887	2,867	3,127 4,144 4,887

Housing Characteristics

Housing statistics for the South End tend to be very misleading and this report can only try to point out the inaccuracies/discrepancies and offer some possible explanations. According to the Census, the South End in 1950 had some 15,356 housing units (Table XVIII). From 1950 to 1960 a great deal of demolition took place in the New York Streets Area and the Castle Square Areas of the South End (Tracts I-1 and I-2). The only new construction occurred in Tract 712 where some 500 units were built for the Cathedral Housing Project. Housing abandonment was fairly widespread, particularly in tracts 804, 805 and 806 (Lower Roxbury). As mentioned earlier, in the 1950-1960 period, the South End suffered over a 20,000 loss of population. Yet, despite housing abandonment, drastic population loss and lack of new construction, the 1960 census reported some 20,849 units in the South End, a 35.8% increase, second highest in the City percentagewise, and highest in actual units.

1950-1960-1970 HOUSING UNITS BY PLANNING DISTRICTS IN THE CITY OF BOSTON

	1950 Housing Units	Absolute Change 1950-60	% Change	1960 Housing Units	Absolute Change 1960-70	% Change	1970 Housing Units
St Boston	13,943	+ 46	+ .3	13,989	- 280	- 2.0	13,709
Charlestown	6,957	- 517	- 7.4	6,440	-1,321	-20.5	5,119
North Boston	15,178	- 623	- 4.1	14,555	- 296	- 2.0	14,259
Central	10,612	- 830	- 7.8	9,782	- 118	- 1.2	9,664
Long Bay - Macon Hill	9,188	+3,923	+42.7	13,111	+2,511	+19.2	15,622
North End	15,356	+5,493	+35.8	20,849	-10,130	-48.6	10,719
Way - Kenmore	13,082	+1,967	+15.0	15,049	-1,806	-12.0	13,243
Easton - Brighton	21,314	+2,138	+10.0	23,452	+1,872	+ 8.0	25,324
Seaside - Cocker Hill	15,628	+ 675	+ 4.3	16,303	+ 790	+ 4.8	17,093
Washington Park - Model City	33,438	-2,285	- 6.8	31,153	-6,195	-19.9	24,958
Washington Park	9,126	- 213	- 2.3	8,913	-1,956	-21.9	6,957
Campus High	2,628	- 699	-26.6	1,929	-1,103	-57.2	826
Model City	21,684	-1,373	- 6.3	20,311	-3,136	-15.4	17,175
Dorchester	43,446	+2,846	+ 6.5	46,292	+2,385	+ 5.1	48,677
Dorchester 1	9,376	+1,077	+11.5	10,453	+ 13	+ .1	10,466
Dorchester 2	22,002	+ 440	+ 2.0	22,442	+ 819	+ 3.6	23,261
Mattapan	12,068	+1,329	+11.0	13,397	+1,553	+11.6	14,950
Roslindale	9,238	+ 995	+10.8	10,233	+2,020	+19.7	12,253
Roxbury	7,087	+1,232	+17.4	8,319	+2,707	+32.5	11,026
Park	7,598	+1,671	+22.0	9,269	+1,466	+15.8	10,735
Financial District Islands	222,065	+16,731	+ 7.5	238,796	-6,395	- 2.7	232,401
Outer Islands	14			20			38
Number of Vessels							9
Totals	222,079	+16,737	+ 7.5	238,816	-6,368	- 2.7	232,448

e: 1950 and 1960 Censuses of Population and Housing; 1970 Census of Population and Housing First Count Summary Tape; Tabulation prepared by Mary Tompkins, BRA Research Department.

From 1960 to 1970 population continued to decline, the urban renewal plan demolished some 1,900 units and 753 new housing units were constructed. However, this time there was a tremendous decrease in the housing stock with a 48.6% loss or 10,130 units.

Looking at the number of housing units by census tract, one finds the largest 1950-1960 increases occurred in tracts 703, 705, 706, 707, 708 - areas where no new housing construction occurred. Either there was massive subdivision of buildings from apartments or single family houses into lodging houses or the census reported each room in a lodging house as a separate housing unit. If the latter were true, it is easy to see how there could have been a 35% increase in housing stock from 1950-1960.

If two buildings of identical size existed side by side as single family houses they would be classified as two structures and two housing units. If one of them remained a single family house and the other was converted to a 15-room rooming house, they would be classified as two structures and 16 housing units. This practice of conversion to

smaller units could explain some of the 1950-1960 census increase. In fact, though, much of the South End had already undergone conversion into rooming houses at the turn of the century. This process might have occurred further in the 1950-60 period. With the demolition of Scollay Square and the West End, much of the transient population of that area moved into the South End sustaining the demand for rooming houses.

The drastic loss of housing units from 1960-1970 might be due to a change in census reporting or census definition. (Table XIX). Tract 706 experienced the biggest drop in housing units going from 2,646 units in 1960 to 810 units in 1970, yet no demolition occurred in this area. It is quite possible that what happened was conversion of structures from rooming houses to single family homes or 2 or 3 unit buildings.

Of the 10,719 South End units listed in the 1970 census some 1,736 were reported as vacant making its 16.2% vacancy rate the highest in the City (Table XX). The percentage of owner occupied units climbed from 9% in 1960 to 11.3%, but the South End still ranked much lower in

TABLE XIX

HOUSING UNITS IN SOUTH END BY CENSUS TRACT

<u>TRACT</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>*1960</u>	<u>1970</u>
703	1,003	1,936	1,664
704	2,330	1,068	638
705	2,223	4,684	2,344
706	955	2,646	810
707	705	1,206	468
708	1,546	2,229	1,293
709	1,615	1,809	1,166
710	731	1,344	650
711	519	407	536
712	596	1,133	789
804	346	252	469
805	1,956	1,460	626
806	653	498	397
	15,178	20,672	11,850

* Except for tract 712 where the Cathedral Project was built, no new construction occurred in the South End. Unit increases are possibly due to buildings being converted to rooming houses.

TABLE XX

1970 TOTAL HOUSING UNITS FOR THE CITY OF BOSTON BY OCCUPANCY - VACANCY STATUS

	Total Housing Units	Total Occupied Units	% Occupied Units	Total Owner Occ.	% Owner Occ.	Total Renter Occ.	% Renter Occ.	Total Vacant Units	% Vaca
Boston	13,709	12,843	93.7	3,940	30.7	8,903	69.3	856	6.3
Westtown	5,119	4,815	94.1	1,559	32.4	3,256	67.6	300	5.8
in Boston	14,259	13,375	93.8	3,459	25.9	9,916	74.1	873	6.1
Mal	9,664	8,727	90.3	779	8.9	7,948	91.1	923	9.6
Bay - Con Hill	15,622	14,462	92.6	920	6.4	13,542	93.6	1,152	7.4
End	10,719	8,968	83.7	1,013	11.3	7,955	88.7	1,736	16.2
Kenmore	13,243	12,288	92.8	260	2.1	12,028	97.9	949	7.2
on - Brighton	25,324	24,540	96.9	4,732	19.3	19,808	80.7	778	3.1
ca Plain - ker Hill	17,093	15,894	93.0	3,582	22.5	12,312	77.5	1,185	6.9
ngton Park - City	24,958	22,002	88.2	4,606	20.9	17,396	79.1	2,938	11.8
ington Park	6,957	6,481	93.2	1,132	17.5	5,349	82.5	470	6.8
us High	826	591	71.5	89	15.1	502	84.9	234	28.3
l City	17,175	14,930	86.9	3,385	22.7	11,545	77.3	2,234	13.0
ster	48,677	46,145	94.8	15,493	33.6	30,652	66.4	2,504	5.1
hester 1	10,466	9,854	94.2	2,488	25.2	7,366	74.8	605	5.8
hester 2	23,261	22,245	95.6	8,493	38.2	13,752	61.8	1,006	4.3
apan	14,950	14,046	94.0	4,512	32.1	9,534	67.9	893	6.0
dale	12,253	11,990	97.9	5,399	45.0	6,591	55.0	248	2.0
oxbury	11,026	10,906	98.9	7,316	67.1	3,590	32.9	117	1.1
ark	10,735	10,480	97.6	6,120	58.4	4,360	41.6	250	2.3
ng District	232,401	217,435	93.6	59,178	27.2	158,257	72.8	14,809	6.4
r Islands of Vessels	38 9	38 5		- 5		38 -		- -	
tals	232,448	217,478	93.6	59,183	27.2	158,295	72.8	14,809	6.4

Source: 1970 Census of Population and Housing, First Count
Summary Tape; Tabulation prepared by Mary Tompkins,
B.R.A. Research Department.

this category than almost all other neighborhoods. Only Central, Back Bay, Beacon Hill and Fenway Kenmore had a lower percentage of owner occupants. Seen in another light, however, the South End had the highest percentage of owner occupants for any intown area.

The South End had a much larger proportion of one person households than the City in 1970 (53.2% South End and 29.0% City of Boston). In fact, 73.2% of all South End occupied housing units were occupied by 1 or 2 persons. However, the proportion of 1-person households decreased from 60.5% in 1960 to 53.2% in 1970. Both in 1960 and 1970, the tracts with public housing, 704, 712, 805, and 806 had the largest proportion of 6+ person households. Since 1970, this has been reinforced in tracts 804, 804, and 806 with the construction of subsidized housing with multiple bedroom units west of Massachusetts Ave. (Lower Roxbury) (Table XXI).

Mobility in the South End remains high with 38.03% of all people having moved in the last two years and 61.53% of all people having moved in the last five years (Table XXII). Except for Castle Square (Tract 704) and 805 where a great

Census Tracts	Total Occupied		1-person Unit	2-persons		3-persons		4-persons		5-persons		6-persons		7-persons		8 or More	
	Housing Units	Occupied															
703	857		548	169	66	27	18	15	9	5							
704	615		210	119	74	71	48	40	30	23							
705	1,855		935	335	192	101	85	79	69	59							
706	720		299	179	76	78	35	26	13	14							
707	326		122	96	40	23	15	16	6	8							
708	966		441	257	106	70	31	23	17	21							
709	1,102		728	192	75	44	32	20	4	7							
710	487		306	101	23	23	15	5	6	8							
711	496		387	65	25	9	7	1	1	1							
712	699		208	162	85	92	64	40	28	20							
804	1		1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0							
805	437		234	97	56	11	20	8	4	7							
806	408		117	104	60	48	21	25	11	23							

(In Percentages*)

703	100%	64.0	19.7	7.7	3.2	2.1	1.7	1.1	.5
704	100	34.2	19.4	12.0	11.5	7.8	6.5	4.9	3.7
705	100	50.4	18.0	10.4	5.4	4.6	4.3	3.7	3.2
706	100	41.5	24.9	10.6	10.8	4.9	3.6	1.8	1.9
707	100	37.4	29.5	12.2	7.1	4.6	4.9	1.8	2.5
708	100	45.7	26.6	11.0	7.3	3.2	2.4	1.7	2.1
709	100	66.1	17.4	6.8	4.0	2.9	1.8	.4	.6
710	100	62.8	20.8	4.7	4.7	3.2	1.0	1.2	1.6
711	100	78.0	13.1	5.1	1.8	1.4	.2	.2	.2
712	100	29.8	23.2	12.2	13.2	9.2	5.7	4.0	2.7
804	100	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
805	100	53.6	22.2	12.8	2.5	4.6	1.8	.9	1.6
806	100	28.7	25.5	14.7	11.8	5.2	6.1	2.7	5.3
Average Composition		53.2	20.0	9.2	6.4	4.1	3.3	1.9	2.0

Note: In 1970, 73.2% of all South End occupied housing units were 1-person or 2-persons units.

TABLE XXII

Census Tracts	All Occupied Housing Units	March 1970	1967	1964	1959	Earlier
703	931	551	113	127	73	67
704	607	206	401	-	-	-
705	1,841	743	255	452	239	152
706	776	342	189	175	49	21
707	272	105	20	67	42	38
708	1,115	426	299	127	83	180
709	955	393	133	121	182	126
710	474	163	99	57	67	88
711	448	210	54	34	69	81
712	761	174	210	192	149	36
804	123	57	38	21	5	2
805	467	141	128	68	67	63
806	175	32	62	27	36	18

(In Percentages*)

703	100%	59.1	12.1	13.6	7.8	7.2
704	100	33.9	66.1	-	-	-
705	100	40.4	13.9	24.6	13.0	8.3
706	100	44.0	11.5	22.5	6.3	2.7
707	100	38.6	7.4	24.6	15.4	14.0
708	100	38.2	26.8	11.4	7.4	16.1
709	100	41.2	13.9	12.7	19.0	13.2
710	100	34.4	20.9	12.0	14.1	18.5
711	100	46.9	12.0	7.6	15.4	18.1
712	100	22.9	27.6	25.2	19.6	4.7
804	100	46.3	30.9	17.1	4.1	1.6
805	100	30.2	27.4	14.6	14.4	13.4
806	100	18.3	35.4	15.4	20.6	10.3

* 38.03% of all housing units in the South End have been occupied by the same people for less than 2 years, 23.5% have been occupied by people from 3 to 5 years. Thus, 61.53% of the people in the South End have moved in the last five years.

deal of demolition occurred, tracts with projects (712, 805, 806) had people with the longest residences. These figures would all seem to indicate recent influxes of Chinese, Spanish and white middle class moving into the South End in the last five years, particularly in tracts 703, 704, 705 and 706. Tract 708 which is predominantly Black also had a high percentage-65% of people who had moved in the last five years.

In 1970 median rent for the South End was only \$76, much lower than the City average of \$98, but higher than East Boston (\$67), So. Boston (\$71), and Charlestown (\$72) (Table XXIII). While 75% of the South End's dwelling units rented for less than \$100, 50 percent of the City's rents were in the same category.

The greatest 1960-1970 increases in median rent occurred in tracts 703 (\$48-\$105-118.8%), 704 (Castle Square) (\$54-\$128-137.1%) and 706 (\$39-\$109-179.5%). It is interesting to note that tract 704, with Castle Square subsidized housing had a much higher median rent than tract 703 where a great deal of renovation has taken place.

While the So. End has a much larger proportion of poor renters than the City and a smaller proportion of those earning more than \$10,000, it also gives a better rent break

Planning Districts	Total Renter Occupied Units With Cash Rent*	Less Than \$40	\$40 to \$59	\$60 to \$79	\$80 to \$99	\$100 to \$119	\$120 to \$149	\$150 to \$199	\$200 to \$299	\$300 or More	No Cash Rent	Median
East Boston	8,697	727	2,513	2,982	1,249	618	460	128	13	7	162	\$67
Charlestown	3,173	116	716	1,227	677	258	119	43	16	1	74	72
South Boston	9,763	462	2,311	3,552	1,939	711	490	280	16	2	121	71
Central	7,861	444	1,336	1,450	704	625	637	970	1,108	587	78	99
Back Bay-Beacon Hill	13,338	80	239	877	1,056	1,113	2,338	3,738	2,587	1,310	196	163
South End	7,849	309	1,355	2,689	1,539	943	637	215	138	24	95	76
Fenway-Kenmore	11,801	60	266	1,100	2,105	2,396	2,814	2,296	562	122	216	118
Allston-Brighton	19,591	59	616	1,123	2,056	3,174	5,461	4,805	2,079	218	209	135
Jamaica Plain-Parker Hill	12,161	119	1,101	3,179	2,775	1,536	1,446	1,158	732	115	136	92
Washington Park-Model City	17,140	262	1,641	4,714	4,389	3,781	2,102	231	17	3	145	88
Washington Park	5,229	19	330	927	1,147	1,624	1,063	111	8	-	37	102
Campus High	493	35	170	216	51	11	8	2	-	-	3	64
Model City	11,418	208	1,141	3,571	3,191	2,146	1,031	118	9	3	105	85
Dorchester	30,292	218	1,469	6,677	10,482	5,830	3,291	2,103	218	4	326	92
Dorchester 1	7,298	81	608	2,545	2,604	833	368	253	6	-	64	83
Dorchester 2	13,570	102	576	2,648	5,308	2,722	1,443	747	22	2	172	92
Mattapan	9,424	35	285	1,484	2,570	2,275	1,480	1,103	190	2	90	103
Roslindale	6,421	44	307	929	1,594	1,463	1,322	717	45	-	121	104
West Roxbury	3,446	33	24	104	334	525	1,215	985	222	4	85	137
Hyde Park	4,239	52	206	551	990	813	608	887	131	1	105	107
Planning District Totals	155,772	2,985	14,100	31,154	31,969	23,786	22,940	18,556	7,884	2,398	2,069	\$98

* 2,069 Rental Dwelling Units that pay no cash rent are not included in these figures.

Source: 1970 Census of Population and Housing, First Count Summary Tape; Tabulation prepared by Mary Tompkins, BRA Research Department

to all income levels than does the City. Tracts with housing projects (712, 804, 805, 806) have large proportions of poor renters. These tracts give rent breaks to all income groups better than the district as a whole.

Tracts 703, 707, 709 give equal or better breaks to the poor than do the project tracts. Tract 709 has 30 percent of the poor paying less than 25 percent of income for rent. Tracts 704, 706, 708 and 710 give the worst rent breaks to poor with tracts 704 and 706 giving bad breaks to other income groups as well. Good rent breaks to higher income groups are 705, 708 and 711.

Renters' Income - City, SE, Selected Tracts - 1970

	\$5000		\$5-19,000		\$10,000+	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
City	64705	41.0	55482	35.1	37785	23.9
SE	5020	62.8	2182	27.3	794	9.9
704	329	52.9	187	30.1	106	17.0
706	318	63.4	122	24.3	62	12.4
707	101	49.0	72	35.0	33	16.0
709	594	69.1	215	25.0	51	5.9
712	513	70.2	146	20.0	72	9.9

Rent/Income Ratio - City, SE, Selected Tracts - 1970

	\$5,000			\$5,000-19,000			\$10,000+
	#	%	%	#	%	%	%
City	64705	41.0	68.3	55482	35.1	35.1	23.9
SE	5020	62.8	68.3	2182	27.3	27.3	9.9
704	329	52.9	68.3	187	30.1	30.1	17.0
706	318	63.4	68.3	122	24.3	24.3	12.4
707	101	49.0	68.3	72	35.0	35.0	16.0
709	594	69.1	68.3	215	25.0	25.0	5.9
712	513	70.2	68.3	146	20.0	20.0	9.9

Housing Goals and Achievements

The following excerpts, taken chronologically from various planning efforts in the South End, as well as newspaper clippings and publications give some idea of the projected housing goals in the South End.

I. A Preliminary Plan for Urban Renewal , June, 1962

P. 53, In summary the major residential goal for the area is to meet adequately housing and community facility needs of those groups now living in the South End and in addition the needs of those middle income groups who desire and seek in-town living.

P. 63, Basically the residential areas split into three parts. On the East between Washington and Albany Streets is an area whose function is to serve as a Reception and Rehabilitation area. Basically immigrants, single individuals, problem groups and extremely low income families would reside in this area... The Cathedral Housing Project is one type of housing resource which can well serve such an area and opportunities for developing others exist.

In the central portion of the community between Shawmut and Tremont Streets is a low income area designed primarily for a family environment, although it is recog-

nized that certain individuals will be living as lodgers in the area. While this area is still reasonably accessible to such facilities as City Hospital in the eastern sector it will be so controlled and so designed as to encourage family living.

In the western portion of the area is proposed a residential community of middle income groups with a primary orientation to Back Bay, the Prudential Center and a similar development opportunity situated over the Turnpike Interchange at Copley Square. This area would present a graduation in living accommodations from Tremont Street to Huntington Avenue in the Back Bay. In its eastern portion the living area would gradually become an area for middle income or high income single persons.

II. Renewal Program for the South End, March 16, 1964

This report contained the following preface, "This report is for staff use and does not represent Authority Policy or a finished plan."

Ch. 1, p. 2, Housing

a) construction of 2200 units under the following programs:

400 Units	- Housing for the Elderly
300 Units	- Public Housing for Families
1100 Units	- 221D3
400 Units	- Other Housing Programs such as 220

- b) Rehabilitation of 300 units (mostly vacant direct BRA or BHA action

The report also stated Ch. 5, p. 3,... It (the South End) will also continue to be an area receiving immigrants from the South and Puerto Rico although the rate is impossible to predict. As with the need for elderly housing the potential is great enough to fill every unit proposed for construction. Again some kind of balance has to be struck with other housing objectives.

Because there are now a large number of existing public housing units in the South End , and as one objective of the renewal program is to make the area somewhat less of a low income ghetto, a modest program of 300 additional new units located on scattered sites is proposed.

III. South End Urban Renewal - The Sixteen Neighborhoods Plan for a Better Community, October, 1964

Private Moderate Income Housing:

Under the plan a total of 2,550 new apartments

for moderate - income families would be constructed.

Rentals in most of these apartments will start at \$85

for a two bedroom flat with heat and hot water. Approx-

imately 500 rental units in rehabilitated housing will

also provide housing for rents ranging upwards from \$60

a month for a one bedroom flat with heat, hot water, and all utilities. This is exclusive of existing rental units.

Public Housing

Including the units of public housing for the elderly now under construction in Castle Square, 500 units of this type of housing would be built under the proposed plan.

An additional 300 units of low-cost public housing for eligible families and single householders would be provided on scattered sites. Through the rent supplementation program recently enacted by Congress additional units of low income housing will be available in private developments.

IV. South End Urban Renewal Plan, 1965 Official Document

Objectives, Ch. II, sec. 201, p 3.

- d) Provide an economically socially and racially integrated community
- e) Provide a framework of environmental conditions better suited to meet the requirements of contemporary living.

Relocation of Families and Individuals, Ch. V, sec.501

Under the urban renewal plan opportunities are provided within the South End for the construction of up to 2500 moderate rental dwelling units. Preference in such housing will be afforded to families and individ-

uals to be relocated. Five hundred new units of public rental housing for elderly persons are proposed in the plan.

The following pp. 51-52, contain excerpts from the official South End Urban Renewal Plan, Project R-56, as it relates to housing. Also included are original clearance figures for the area (Table XXIV). It should be noted that some 3,817 housing units were originally scheduled for clearance and that by 1972 this had been revised downward to 2,496 units (Table XXV).

Actual households relocated to date have been considerably less than the 3,550 figure quoted in the 1965 South End Plan. To date nearly 2,500 households have entered the BRA caseload and it is doubtful the full estimate will ever be reached. This is especially true since most of the areas scheduled for clearance (particularly Parcel 19 in Tract 705) have already been cleared. The only additional major relocation might occur in the block bounded by Appleton St., West Canton, Dartmouth and Columbus, which is currently designated as a school site. There is some doubt that a school would ever be constructed here because of site inadequacy and if this issue could be resolved, no relocation need occur here.

The original plan had called for 2,500 new moderate rental units, 500 new elderly housing units and 100

SUMMARY OF THE SOUTH END URBAN RENEWAL PLAN AS IT RELATES TO HOUSING

CHAPTER II: OBJECTIVES

Basic Objectives:

- Provide an economically, socially and racially integrated community.
- Provide a framework of environmental conditions better suited to meet the requirements of contemporary living.

Planning and Design Objectives:

- Improve the quality, condition, and maintenance of existing dwelling structures to a level which achieves decent, safe and sanitary housing.
 - Encourage investment and mortgage financing by eliminating blight.
 - Protect private investment.
- Provide, in appropriate areas, new housing units which provide the highest level of amenity, convenience, usefulness, and liveability which are within the income requirements of the residents of the community.
- Provide new housing for the elderly.
 - Obtain superior architectural and aesthetic quality in the new public buildings and open spaces.

CHAPTER V: RELOCATION OF FAMILIES AND INDIVIDUALS

Families to be displaced (based on 1961-63 surveys):

- 1730 families reside in clearance areas
- 1820 single persons reside in clearance areas
- 3550 total households requiring relocation

Housing needs of relocatees:

- 2412 require one bedroom units
- The majority of the relocatees requiring public housing are elderly persons.
- 3 out of 4, or 2664 are expected to move into private housing leaving 746 expected to move into public housing
- 2 out of 3, or 2325 are eligible for low-rent public housing

Relocation to be accomplished as follows:

- 500 moves will be made per year for 7 years, totaling 3500.
- Of the 500 it is reasonable to expect 279 standard housing units to become available on the private market in the South End each year at rents consistent with the income level of the relocatees. Over a seven year period the total units available on the rental market is therefore 1953.

SUMMARY

page 2

- Of the 886 public housing units available in the South End (1962-63), 100 units turnover each year. Therefore, with no increase in the number of public housing units, there would be 700 public housing units available over the seven year relocation period.
(The BHA operates 13,592 units in the City of Boston, of which, in 1964 there were 1886 vacancies).
- Housing sales in 1964 were 178 residential structures from one to four family in size and from 5,000 dollars in price.
- 100 rehabilitated housing units will be created with public funding during the relocation period.
- Under the Urban Renewal Plan, opportunities are provided within the South End for the construction of up to 2,500 new moderate rental dwelling units with preference for such housing given to relocatees.
(Refer to Section 502, Subparagraph c.)
- Under the Urban Renewal Plan, 500 new units of public housing for the elderly is proposed. In other parts of Boston several hundred other units of low rent housing for the elderly is proposed.

-Summary of Statistics: (Based on seven year projections)

NEEDS: 3,550 units of housing (746 requiring public housing)

PROJECTED AVAILABLE HOUSING:

1953 rental turnovers	2500 new moderate housing units
<u>700</u> BHA turnovers	500 new elderly housing units
2653 Total turnovers	<u>100</u> rehabilitated housing units
	3100 Total new housing units

Totals:

2653 Housing turnovers
<u>3100</u> New housing units
5753 Total available housing units

CENSUS TRACT

SOUTH END TOTALS
Clearance Map 12/12/53

	Total	Clearance Area	Clearance Area as % of Total
Structures	3537	926	26%
Owner-Occupied Structures	1710	323	18%
Non-Owner occupied Structures	1835	603	32%
Total Housing Units	18467	3817	20%
Vacant Units	2921	612	20%
Occupied Rental Housing Units	13836	2882	20%
Owner-Occupied Housing Units	1710	323	18%
One-Room Occupied Units	7034	768	10%
Two or More Room Occupied Units	8643	2451	28%
Housing Units Per Structure -	-	-	-
Total Population	31525	7104	22%
Population in Households	29966	6603	22%
No. of Unrelated Individuals	12463	2280	18%
No. of Families	5891	1410	23%
Average Family Size	-	-	-
Non-White Total Population	13687	3818	27%
Population in Households	13569	3801.X	28%
No. of Unrelated Individuals	3431	1069	31%
No. of Families	2964	809	27%
Average Family Size	-	-	-

Source: 1960 Census and B.R.A. Records

Table XXV

STATUS OF DEMOLITION IN BRA URBAN RENEWAL PROJECTS
AS OF FEBRUARY, 1974

<u>Project Area</u>	<u>Total Units Planned for Demolition</u>	<u>Total Units Demolished</u>	<u>Total Units Remaining to be Demolished</u>
Washington Park	2,518	2,518	--
Campus High	483 *	41*	442*
South End	2,496	2,152	344
Charlestown	615	594	21
Winway	429	176	253
Confidential	--	--	--
Government Center	584	584	584 7
West End	3,671	3,671	--
Waterfront	--	--	--
Whitney Street	351	351	--
New York Streets	947	947	--
Central Business District	--	--	--
North Harvard Street	84	84	--
South Cove	676	591	85
Totals	12,854	11,709	1,145

Source: HUD 6000 Physical Progress Reports
BRA Research Department

not most recent figures

rehabilitated housing units. The plan has worked out rather differently, in that instead of 100 rehabilitated housing units being created, to date nearly 1,108 units of rehabbed housing have been made available for low and moderate rentals, more than eleven times what was originally proposed. Some of these, such as the Saranac Building and Newcastle Court were originally scheduled for demolitions for a school site, but the school location was moved so the housing could be kept and rehabbed. Pages 64 - 65 give a breakdown of not only the new and rehabilitated housing to date, but also proposed housing as well.

As stated earlier nearly 1,108 units of rehabbed housing have been made available for low and moderate rentals. A detailed listing of these buildings by developer, number of units and type of financing appears on pages 59 - 63. These buildings, numbering over 200, seem to be concentrated in tracts 708, 709, and 710 with 40 of them located on Massachusetts Ave. alone.

The majority of rehabbed units in the South End have been done through conventional financing (34.3%), although



the South End, unlike Charlestown and South Cove, has substantial numbers of FHA 22183 units (304) and Section 236 (218) (Table XXVI).

Residential rehab costs in the South End have run much higher than other renewal areas and the per unit rehab cost of \$9,060 makes the South End twice the total average cost of \$4,450 (Table XXVI).

Another unusual aspect of new housing in the South End is the prevalence of 121A Corporations which have roughly the same tax advantage as the Prudential Center. These corporations make payments in lieu of taxes to the state which, in turn, pays the City of Boston. Taxes are based on a percentage of gross income. However, since rents in the new developments tend to be somewhat lower than market rents, the payment in lieu of taxes, being based on that lower rent, is also less and the City may wind up receiving less in taxes than before clearance. Listed below are the 121A corporations in the South End.

121A CORPORATIONS IN THE SOUTH END

	<u>Cost</u>	<u>D.U.s</u>	<u>Financing</u>
<u>Construction</u>			
ield, Inc.	\$2,520,000	135	221d3
minster Place, Inc.	2,087,000	120	221d3
ard Place, Inc.	3,110,000	160	221d3
Ave. Housing Corp.	3,084,000	181	221d3
e Homes	8,830,400	365	221d3
<u>b</u>			
C. Developers, Inc.	1,407,000	71	FHA236
ezer Homes Inc.	545,620	32	MHFA
astle Assoc.	1,748,400	105	MHFA
Corporation &			
igate Assoc.	3,711,500	185	FHA236
Construction	\$19,631,400	961	
ab	<u>7,412,520</u>	<u>393</u>	
<u>Total</u>	\$27,043,920	1,354	

St. John's

St. John's

St. John's

St. John's

St. John's

BY TYPE OF FINANCING

PROJECT	FHA 220	FHA 221D3	CONVEN- TIONAL	SEC. 236	SEC. 115	SEC. 312	115/312	PRN	TOTAL
Charlestown	41 2.6	0 0	31 2.0	0	154 9.9	335 21.5	42 2.7	957 61.3	1560 100%
South End	57 2.5	304 13.1	794 34.3	218 9.4	88 3.8	397 17.2	19 .8	437 18.9	2314
South Cove	0 0	0 0	28 17.	0 0	3 2.	25 15.	0 0	110 66.	166

RESIDENTIAL REHAB COSTS AS OF 1/72

	UNITS	COST	AV. COST
Washington Park	4,550	15,616,321	3,430
Charlestown	1,560	6,323,343	4,050
Fenway	1,198	2,962,222	2,470
South Cove	166	741,453	4,460
South End*	2,314	20,971,165	9,060
Total	9,788	46,524,504	4,450

* Note the average unit cost for rehab in the South End is twice the total average.

Source Urban Renewal, Planning in Boston, John Stainton, Feb, 1972.

REHABILITATED SOUTH END DWELLINGS WITH LOW-MODERATE RENTALS

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>UNITS</u>	<u>TYPE OF FINANCING</u>	<u>OWNER</u>
115 Appleton St.	5	236	Noonan
5 Braddock Park	-	236	TDC
34 Braddock Park	-	Conven.	TDC
76 Berkeley St.	2		Noonan
78 " "	2		Noonan
80 " "	4		Noonan
82 " "	4		Noonan
126 Chandler St.	5	236	Noonan
128 " "	5	236	Noonan
130 " "	5	236	Noonan
132 " "	5	236	Noonan
134 " "	5	236	Noonan
268-274 Columbus Ave.	34	221(d)(3)	Eastern Ass.
416 " "	4	Conven.	Mass. Housing
498 " "	5	Conven.	TDC
502 " "	5	Conven.	TDC
506 " "	-	Conven.	TDC
599 " "	46	SBA	Col. Ave. Tenants Ass.
607,609 " "	7	SBA	" "
613 " "	8	SBA	" "
615 " "	8	SBA	" "
617 " "	4	SBA	" "
621,623 " "	8	SBA	" "
625 " "	8	SBA	" "
627 " "	8	SBA	" "
3 Columbus Square	8	SBA	Coop. Met. Min.
6 Concord Square	3	221(d)(3)	LCH
8 " "	6	Conven.	Coop. Met. Min.
20 " "	6	Conven.	Coop. Met. Min.
21 " "	3	221(d)(3)	LCH
23 " "	4	221(d)(3)	LCH
24 " "	6	Conven.	Coop. Met. Min.
26 " "	7	Conven.	" "
28 " "	7	Conven.	" "
34 " "	2	Conven.	" "
41 Cunard St.	4	Conven.	LCH
10 Dartmouth St.	5	Conven.	SECD
10 Dwight St.	3	Conven.	LCH
12 " "	3	Conven.	LCH
43 " "	4	221(d)(3)	SECD
45 " "	1	221(d)(3)	SECD
109 E. Brookline	3	220	LCH
24 E. Springfield	-	236	TDC
34 " "	3	312	Mass. Housing
35 " "	4	312	SECD
38 " "	5	221(d)(3)	SECD
39 " "	5	312	MacFarland
41 " "	5	312	MacFarland
42 " "	4	312	SECD
23 Greenwich Park	5	220	SECD
30 " "	-	236	TDC

4 Greenwich St.	3	Conven.	King-Bison
36 Hammond St.	4	Conven.	LCH
72 " "	4	Conven.	LCH
86 " "	4	Conven.	LCH
90 " "	4	312	King-Bison
92 " "	4	312	"
94 " "	4	312	"
96 " "	4	312	"
20 Hanson St.	4	312	MacFarland
32 Holyoke St.	4	221(d)(3)	LCH
401 Mass Ave.	-	236	TDC
403 " "	-	236	TDC
405 " "	-	236	TDC
407 " "	-	236	TDC
416 " "	5	Conven.	Mass. Housing
418 " "	9	SBA	LCH
419 " "	-	236	TDC
421 " "	-	236	TDC
423 " "	-	236	TDC
425 " "	-	236	TDC
518 " "	3	312	MacFarland
522 " "	5	236	TDC
535 " "	5	MHFA	SECD
538 " "	5	Conven.	Mass. Housing
544 " "	5	221(d)(3)	LCH
545 " "	-	236	TDC
546 " "	5	221(d)(3)	LCH
547 " "	-	236	TDC
549 " "	5	221(d)(3)	SECD
551 " "	5	221(d)(3)	SECD
553 " "	-	236	TDC
559 " "	5	221h	LCH
560 " "	-	236	TDC
567 " "	5	221(d)(3)	LCH
569 " "	-	236	TDC
571 " "	-	236	TDC
572 " "	5	Conven.	TDC
573 " "	-	236	TDC
574 " "	5	236	TDC
612 " "	-	236	TDC
623 " "	-	236	TDC
627 " "	-	236	TDC
654 " "	5	236	TDC
663 " "	-	236	TDC
671 " "	5	236	TDC
673 " "	5	236	TDC
675 " "	5	236	TDC
688 " "	5	Conven.	Interfaith
692 " "	-	236	TDC
696 " "	-	236	TDC
8 Milford	4	312	MacFarland
82 Montgomery	4	Conven.	LCH
210 Northampton St.	5	221(d)(3)	LCH
212 " "	4	221(d)(3)	SEDC
214 " "	3	312	SEDC
216 " "	5	220	SEDC
220 " "	3	221(d)(3)	SEDC
224 " "	5	221(d)(3)	SEDC

139	Pembroke St.	-	236	TDC
9	Rutland St.	3	Conven.	Coop. Met. Min.
11	"	3	Conven.	Coop. Met. Min.
22	"	1	Conven.	LCH
24	"	-	Conven.	LCH
29	"	-	236	TDC
49	"	3	Conven.	SETC
55	"	5	236	TDC
62	"	3	312	Mass Housing
64	"	3	312	Mass Housing
237	Shawmut Ave.	3	221(d)(3)	LCH
239	"	3	Conven.	LCH
241	"	3	221(d)(3)	LCH
243	"	3	221(d)(3)	LCH
245	"	3	221(d)(3)	LCH
286	"	2	220	LCH
326	"	2	Conven.	LCH
336	"	5	236	ETC
338	"	5	236	ETC
340	"	5	236	ETC
342,346	"	12	236	ETC
480	"	8	Conven.	LCH
501	"	5	Conven.	R. Waker
610	Tremont St.	4	236	ETC
612	"	5	236	ETC
614	"	5	236	ETC
616	"	5	236	ETC
618	"	5	236	ETC
620	"	5	236	ETC
622	"	5	236	ETC
624	"	5	236	ETC
626	"	5	236	ETC
792	"	4	221(d)(3)	SEDC
794	"	4	221(d)(3)	SEDC
798	"	4	221(d)(3)	SEDC
800	"	4	221(d)(3)	SEDC
804	"	4	221(d)(3)	SEDC
808	"	4	221(d)(3)	SEDC
859	"	182	236	Piano Craft Guild
106	W. Canton St.	3	Conven.	SETC
108	"	3	Conven.	SETC
235	"	3	221(d)(3)	LCH
106	W. Concord	5	236	TDC
108	"	5	236	TDC
127	"	-	236	TDC
130	"	5	236	TDC
152	"	10	221(d)(3)	LCH
162	"	5	Conven.	LCH
54	West Newton	4	Turnkey	United Com. Dev.
56	"	4	"	"
58	"	4	"	"
60	"	4	"	"
62	"	4	"	"
64	"	5	"	"
66	"	6	"	"
68	"	5	"	"
70	"	5	"	"
72	"	5	"	"
74	"	5	"	"
76	"	5	"	"

78 West Newton	2	Turnkey	United Com. Dev.
80 "	7	"	"
82 "	7	"	"
84 "	7	"	"
86 "	7	"	"
88 "	7	"	"
90 "	6	"	"
92 "	6	"	"
94 "	6	"	"
96 "	7	"	"
98 "	6	"	"
100 "	6	"	"
102 "	6	"	"
115 "	-	236	TDC
213 "	-	236	TDC
215 "	9	Conven.	LCH
86 W. Springfield	2	Conven.	LCH
96 "	-	236	TDC
105 "	1	220	King-Bison
159 "	10	221(d)(3)	LCH
160 "	4	220	Ebenezer Baptist
161 "	5	221(d)(3)	LCH
162 "	4	236	Ebenezer Baptist
164 "	4	236	" "
166 "	4	236	" "
168 "	4	236	" "
170 "	4	236	" "
172 "	4	236	" "
189 "	4	236	TDC
15-19 Walpole	10	221(d)(3)	Eastern Ass.
25 Warren Ave.	5	221(d)(3)	J.E. Bennett, Jr.
31 " "	5	221(d)(3)	" "
33 " "	5	221(d)(3)	" "
35 " "	5	221(d)(3)	" "
37 " "	5	221(d)(3)	" "
51 " "	5	221(d)(3)	" "
12 Wellington St.	3	221(d)(3)	LCH
18 " "	2	220	LCH
23 " "	-	236	TDC
75 Winsor	4	Conven.	LCH
9,11 Worcester St.	4	Conven.	LCH
13,15 " "	?		LCH
19 " "	?		LCH
21 " "	?		LCH
32 " "	?	236	TDC
57 " "	?	236	TDC
84 " "			TDC
89 " "	4	236	TDC
91 " "	5	236	TDC
153 " "	8	MHFA	Coop. Met. Min.
155 " "	9	MHFA	Coop. Met. Min.

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SUMMARY TABLE

<u>OWNER</u>	<u>BUILDINGS</u>	<u>UNITS COMPLETED</u>	<u>RENOVATED UNITS PLANNED</u>
TDC	54	78	185
ETC	13	71	
LCH	43	162	
SETC	3	9	
SEDC	21	87	
Coop. Met. Min.	11	65	
King-Bison	5	17	
Un. Com. Dev.	25	136	
Ebenezer Baptist	7	28	
Noonan	10	42	
Others	<u>20</u>	<u>413</u>	
Total	212	1,141	185

* indicates buildings to be renovated by TDC in phase II totalling 185 units.

KEY

TDC: Tenants Development Corporation
 ETC: Emergency Tenants Council
 LCH: Low Cost Housing
 SETC: South End Tenants Council
 SEDC: South End Development Corporation
 Coop. Met. Min.: Cooperative Metropolitan Ministries
 Un. Com. Dev.: United Community Development

Housing Stock in the South End
Existing, Planned and Proposed

The 1970 Census reported 10,719 housing units in the South End. Of the 1970 Census only Castle Square (500 units + 102 elderly units) and Methunion (151 units) were completed for a total of 753. Since the 1970 Census the following units have been completed.

Completed Low -Moderate Income Housing

Roxse Homes	364 units
Grant Manor	180 units
Camfield Gardens	135 units
Mass. Housing	44 units
Westminster Place	120 units
Willard Place	160 units
	<u>1,003 units</u>

Completed Elderly Housing

Turnkey Construction (3 sites)	234 units
ETC Elderly (under construction)	<u>204 units</u>
	438 units
Pianocraft Guild (under const.	182 units

Total Completed New Housing since 1970 1,623 ($1,003 + 438 + 182 = 1,623$)

The 1,623 units completed includes only new construction. It does not include the 1141 units of rehabbed low moderate housing which would have been included in the 1970 census. The total housing stock in the South End as of 1/1/74 would now be around 12,342 ($10,719 + 1,623 = 12,342$)

Of the existing housing stock the following units are elderly, public housing or subsidized to some degree.

Public Housing	886 units
Rehab. subsidized	1,141 units
New construction (to date)	1,838 units
Elderly construction (to date)	<u>538 units</u>
	4,403 total units

Taking the figures of existing South End Housing Stock (12,342) the units receiving some form of subsidy etc., (4403) the percentage this type of housing stock to the total stock can be seen to be 35.7%*

The following low - moderate income and elderly housing is in the planning stage.

Concord Towers	181 units	(80 of these will be elderly)
Headstart Housing	188 units	
South End Building Systems	60 units	
New Sahara Apartments	16 units	
ETC Phase I	181 units	
ETC Phase II	238 units	
TDC Phase II	185 units	
Franklin Square House	200 units	(elderly housing)
DCA Infill	80 units	
J. Long (Mass. Ave & Wellington)	<u>72 units</u>	
	1,401 units	(total planned)

Of these units 944 would be new construction, the rest rehab.

If these units were built as planned and assuming no loss in South End Housing Stock the total units in the South End would be 13,286
new units + 12,342 estimated 1974 units = 13,286 If this new and rehab housing were completed the percentage of units receiving some form of subsidy would then be 43.7%.

4403 existing units receiving some form of subsidy
1401 planned units that would receive some form of subsidy
5804 total units receiving subsidy if all built as planned

: These figures do not reflect the number of units that have been demolished since 1970.

*There is also some discrepancy as to the actual number of housing units in the South End. The 1970 census reported 10,719 units, but the latest HUD Physical Progress Report of Feb. 21, 1974 lists the total housing units at 8100. This estimate is based on actual unit count per building as taken from all of the completed surveys to date. If the 8100 figure is correct then using the 4403 figure for subsidized units the percentage of units receiving some form of subsidy would be 54.4% and not the 35.7% as stated above.

Assessing in the South End

The South End was declared a blighted area eligible for urban renewal in the early 1960s. The South End Urban Renewal Plan, adopted by the City Council in 1965, had among its objectives to "provide an economically, socially and racially integrated community" and to "protect and expand the City's tax base and arrest the trend of economic decline, and by stabilizing property values, protect private investment".

Prior to the Urban Renewal Plan, property sales in the South End were minimal since Boston banks were not mortgaging buildings and insurance companies had in effect "red-lined" the area and were not granting policies. As a result, the market was depressed, with prices for brick bow-front row houses generally below \$10,000. Additionally, many owners with limited financial means were unable to spend the \$500 to \$1,000 a year on building maintenance needed to keep their buildings in reasonable condition or were absentee owners with no desire to spend the money. This situation had continued for periods of 20 to 40 years and was one of the major causes of the blighted condition which made the Urban Renewal Plan possible.

By the late 1960s, the completion of the Prudential Center, the promise of public improvements such as new streets, sidewalks, street lighting, sewers and the elimination of substandard buildings under the South End Urban Renewal Plan, the proximity to downtown Boston, the desire of many young professionals to live in the inner City, and the presence of the largest number of structurally sound brick Victorian houses in the country all combined to make the South End a desirable place to live.

At the inception of the South End Urban Renewal Plan, the assessments in the South End were reasonably well equalized at values between \$3,800 and \$7,000 depending on the street. Since one of the basic objectives of the Urban Renewal Plan was to bring all residential property to minimal code standards, an agreement was made at that time by Mayor Collins that home improvements made to meet this objective would not result in changes in assessments. A list of these improvements is given in Table XXVII

In 1970, a number of assessments were increased in Precinct 1 of Wards 4 and 5 (Tracts 703 and 706). The Ellis Neighborhood Association reached an informal agreement

TABLE XXVII

HOME IMPROVEMENT which can be made without
an increase in assessment:

INSIDE

New Furnace replacing one of same type
Automatic hot water
Plaster repairs
Redecorating (painting and wallpaper)
New Kitchen cabinets, cupboards and counters
Added closets or other built-ins
New ceilings
New wall surfacing
Add built-in vent fans
Wiring modernization including additional electrical outlets
Replace plumbing and light fixtures (if not part of complete
modernization)

OUTSIDE

Repointing, repairing and replacing existing masonry
Repairing and replacing porches and steps
Remove unused porch or exterior trim
Repairs to fire escapes
Replacing window sash and sills
Insulation, weather stripping, storm windows and doors
Exterior awnings and window shutters
Add or replace gutter downspouts
Outside painting
Outdoor electric cable and outdoor lights
Repairing or replacing private walls
Replace dilapidated sheds and garages with rear lot parking area
Paving rear lot parking area (less than 500 sq. ft.)
New fences or walls
Lawns, landscaping, lawn sprinkler systems
New sheds to store garbage and rubbish containers
New roof or siding

From The Housing Code and its Enforcement in the City of Boston
Boston Housing Inspection Department and
Mayor's Office of Public Service

with Commissioner Anzalone and the Assessing Department on behalf of about 50 of the owners who had applied for abatements. This agreement specified that owner occupied buildings would be assessed at 25 percent of the purchase price, that rooming houses would be taxed at 20 percent of the gross income and that apartment buildings would be taxed at 25 percent of the gross income. At the time, the average selling price of an unrehabilitated house in the South End was under \$20,000. Few rehabilitated houses had appeared on the market at that time. This formula resulted in assessments generally not in excess of \$10,000, which at the 1970 tax rate of \$156.80 meant a tax of less than \$1,500.

The situation in the South End has changed drastically in the last three years. More and more houses that have been rehabilitated are being sold and unrehabilitated buildings are now selling as high as \$45,000 on some streets. The formula which was applicable in 1970 is now leading to highly unequalized assessments and actual hardship, especially in the purchase of rehabilitated buildings. Most South End houses before rehabilitation suffer from deferred maintenance of up to 40 years duration. The cost of keeping a brick row house in good condition, as has been mentioned above,

costs a minimum of \$500 a year. If this maintenance is deferred, at least \$20,000 must be spent to replace worn-out lead plumbing, obsolete electric wiring, inadequate heating systems, leaky roofs, antiquated kitchens and bathrooms and for pointing exterior bricks, repairing worn brownstone steps, painting, etc. None of these items, if performed by the former owner, would have resulted in an increase in assessment as shown in Table XXVII.

However, on selling the rehabilitated property, the seller is naturally going to pass on to the new owner the cost of these repairs, resulting in selling prices in 1973-74 of between \$60,000 and \$80,000. With assessments based on 25 percent of the purchase price, spot assessing is now resulting in unequalized assessments on given streets. For example, in 1965, West Canton St. between Tremont and Columbus Ave. had a spread in assessment between \$4,500 and \$6,000. In 1973, with all but six of the houses on the street rehabilitated, the spread in assessment is between \$5,000 and \$16,000, a better than 3 to 1 ratio, yet current selling prices result in no more than a 2 to 1 ratio, around \$38-40 for an unrehabbed building of \$60,000 for a renovated one. Pembroke Street has an even wider variation. In 1965, the assessments

varied between \$5,000 and \$6,000, while today the spread is between \$5,500 and \$21,100. The same pattern is beginning to appear on most South End residential streets. In 1965, comparable houses on residential streets in the South End were generally assessed at the same value. Today, comparable houses on the same street are generally sold at prices varying by no more than 20 percent. The difference between rehabilitated and unrehabilitated occupied houses is generally not more than double. Since a substantial portion of the cost of rehabilitated houses is for deferred maintenance which could not result in changes of assessment, the present practice of basing assessments on 25 percent of the selling price, while convenient for the assessors, results in some owners bearing a disproportionate share of the tax burden. A more equitable solution to the problem would be to raise the assessment on each building on the street, a reasonable, but fair amount with a spread on no more than 2 to 1 between rehabilitated and unrehabilitated houses. For non-owner-occupied buildings, an assessment based on gross income should be applied as presently is being done.

The following tables list the assessments of South End residential streets from 1965 to 1972 and 1973 with the percentage increase from 1965 to 1973. Although the average increase in assessments for the last nine years (28.0%) seems low, assessment patterns over the area vary widely with percentage increases as high as 190.8% and as low as -62.0%, certain patterns do appear. Tracts 703 and 706, Ward 5 Precinct 1 and Ward 4 Precinct 1, have the highest increases. This may be due to the fact that this area is closest to Back Bay and Downtown and selling prices tend to be fairly high. West Canton Street seems to be the exception in the area with only a 16.7% increase. The low increase, even though many of the buildings are rehabilitated, may be due to the fact that many owners have been there several years and only recent purchasers have been reassessed. Waltham Street's 190.8% increase is primarily due to the fairly large number of luxury rental units there and several recent sales of renovated buildings.

Assessments generally decrease as one approaches Mass. Ave. and the western part of the South End, as well as the area bounded by Columbus Ave., Massachusetts Ave., West Newton Street and the Penn Central Tracks. There is still

considerable black ownership of property in this area and many have owned their homes a long time. This area would seem to follow the pattern of West Canton Street - that streets where selling activity is low and length of ownership long do not get reassessed unless there is a sale.

As mentioned earlier, purchase prices in the area have climbed considerably. A sample of real estate listing shows shells on Warren Avenue selling in the mid-30's and finished buildings being sold for \$60,000+. In Union Park renovated buildings with rental units have sold as high as \$85,000 and \$90,000. Last year an Appleton St. single-family house bought for \$35,000, resold three years later for \$53,000. A 4-unit building on the same block sold for \$75,000.

The record of local lending institutions in the area would indicate bank confidence. The following figures were gathered from the Banker & Tradesman and list mortgage activity within the South End during January-September 1973.

MONTHLY MORTGAGE ACTIVITY IN SOUTH END 1973

January	\$809,000	April	\$642,000	July	\$1,253,000
February	638,000	May	576,000	August	661,000
March	860,000	June	920,000	September	741,000

This activity is especially interesting in the light of the much higher interest rates banks began charging in late Spring-early Summer.

Assessing can become a social tool which determines the character of a neighborhood. As mentioned earlier, one of the purposes of the Urban Renewal Plan was to "stabilize property values and protect private investment". Any assessing policy which tends to penalize the homeowner, whether he be a long-time resident or a new neighbor, will in the long run destroy the fabric of the neighborhood.

12'000	12'000	12'000
12'200	12'200	12'200
12'400	12'400	12'400
12'600	12'600	12'600
12'800	12'800	12'800
13'000	13'000	13'000
13'200	13'200	13'200
13'400	13'400	13'400
13'600	13'600	13'600
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14'200	14'200	14'200
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15'200	15'200	15'200
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16'200	16'200	16'200
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18'600	18'600	18'600
18'800	18'800	18'800
19'000	19'000	19'000
19'200	19'200	19'200
19'400	19'400	19'400
19'600	19'600	19'600
19'800	19'800	19'800
20'000	20'000	20'000

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 ASSESSED VALUES OF SOUTH END STREETS*
 1965-1973

	1965	1972	1973	1972-73 Increase \$121,300	1965-73 Increase \$467,200	% Increase 1965-73 79.2%
Appleton Street	\$590,000	\$935,900	\$1,057,200			
Berkeley Street	333,800	408,000	418,000	10,000	84,200	25.2
Bond Street	25,000	64,500	64,500	0	39,500	15.8
Braddock Park	139,500	140,600	159,700	19,100	20,200	14.5
Bradford Street	73,000	103,500	103,500	0	30,500	41.8
Cazenove Street	146,700	137,500	154,800	17,300	8,100	5.5
Chandler Street	423,200	924,300	999,400	75,100	576,200	136.2
Claremont Park	129,200	173,700	184,600	10,900	55,400	42.9
Clarendon Street	277,100	363,200	380,800	17,600	103,700	37.4
Columbus Square	66,500	77,000	80,500	3,500	14,000	21.1
Concord Square	247,200	345,400	392,400	47,000	145,200	58.7
Dartmouth Street	215,900	414,500	479,200	64,700	263,300	122.0
Dartmouth Place	77,000	176,100	191,400	15,300	114,400	148.5
Dwight	234,900	267,300	293,800	26,500	58,900	25.1
E. Concord Street	136,400	135,900	155,900	20,000	19,500	14.3
E. Springfield St.	228,730	268,100	277,600	9,500	48,870	21.4
Gray Street	198,100	314,500	325,200	10,700	127,100	64.2
Greenwich Park	130,500	158,700	177,800	19,100	47,300	36.3
Hanson Street	138,800	155,600	188,900	33,300	50,100	36.1
Haven Street	7,000	7,000	7,000	0	0	0

* This does not include Columbus Ave., Tremont St., Harrison Ave., Shawmut Ave.,
 Washington St., or Albany St.

	<u>1965</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1972-73</u> Increase	<u>1965-73</u> Increase	<u>% Increase</u> <u>1965-73</u>
Holyoke St.	\$95,900	\$159,300	\$167,100	\$7,800	\$71,200	74.2
Lawrence St.	180,300	306,600	347,200	40,600	166,900	92.6
Montgomery St.	172,200	233,700	249,000	13,300	76,800	44.6
Milford St.	209,400	225,900	239,900	14,000	30,500	14.6
*Northampton St.	638,100	261,900	270,500	8,600	-367,600	-57.6
Pembroke St.	407,800	492,300	520,700	28,400	112,900	27.7
Ringold St.	36,900	37,900	37,900	-	1,000	2.7
Rutland Square	272,000	349,400	387,500	38,100	115,500	42.5
Rutland Street	223,000	270,700	276,900	6,200	53,900	24.2
St. Charles St.	71,800	136,300	142,800	6,500	71,000	98.9
Taylor St.	32,000	36,100	36,100	-	4,100	12.8
Union Park	368,300	543,600	576,700	33,100	208,400	56.6
Upton Street	222,400	277,000	284,500	7,500	62,100	27.9
Waltham Street	142,900	349,800	415,500	65,700	272,600	190.8
Warren Ave.	530,300	710,700	768,000	57,300	237,700	44.8
Wellington St.	161,500	140,400	167,200	26,800	5,700	3.5
West Brookline St.	326,300	473,500	498,500	25,000	172,200	52.8
West Canton St.	506,200	570,500	590,500	20,000	84,300	16.7

1965-1973

	<u>1965</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1972-73</u> <u>Increase</u>	<u>1965-73</u> <u>Increase</u>	<u>% Increase</u> <u>1965-73</u>
West Concord Street	\$315,800	\$305,200	\$319,000	\$13,800	\$ 3,200	1.0
* West Newton Street	635,600	643,800	609,300	-34,500	26,300	-4.1
* West Springfield St.	634,300	259,900	241,100	473,200	393,200	166.0
* West Rutland Square	110,500	69,000	81,300	12,300	-29,200	-26.4
Worcester Square	360,200	398,800	425,400	26,600	65,200	18.1
* Worcester Street	607,100	247,600	247,000	- 600	-360,100	-59.3
Yarmouth Street	104,500	157,500	160,700	3,200	56,200	53.8
<u>Totals</u>	<u>\$11,183,830</u>	<u>\$13,228,700</u>	<u>\$14,152,500</u>	<u>\$923,800</u>	<u>\$3,130,370</u>	<u>28.0%</u>

* These streets all located near Massachusetts Ave., except for W. Newton St. all decreased in assessed value due to demolition of buildings. West Springfield St. and Northampton St. have 121A developments and these buildings do not appear in property assessments. West Newton, between Shawmut and Tremont also "went off the tax roles" because of the BHA turnkey development at #56-102 West Newton. If one looks at the block between Tremont and West Newton in 1965, the assessment was \$250,200 and increased to \$323,100 in 1972 and \$350,700 in 1973 an increase of 31.1% from 1965-73.

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